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THE

FACTS

ABOUT

STATE EXPENDITURES.

Massachusetts, and How She is Governed.

ADDRESS

OF

His Excellency

ALEXANDER H. RICE,

DELIVERED AT

THE RATIFICATION MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL,

THURSDAY, OCT. 10.

BOSTON:
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE.
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ADDRESS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

Fellow-citizens, fellow-Republicans, honest men of all parties and of all opinions, assembled here, — We have gathered in this venerable hall, consecrated to patriotic and sacred associations and memories, to pass together an evening in considering some of those important questions which affect the character and welfare of the nation at large, the peace and happiness of our own homes, the prosperity of our industries, and the renown of this grand old Commonwealth which we so fervently love. (Applause.) It is something of a heritage to be an American citizen. One feels it to be so when he stands within the precincts of Faneuil Hall, and opens his mind and his heart to the associations of this place. It is also a lofty privilege to be a citizen of Massachusetts.

THE GLORY OF THE OLD COMMONWEALTH.

We remember that it was Massachusetts who first received upon her virgin soil the Puritan and the Pilgrim, who established here the principles which underlie all American civilization, and out of which has grown much of the fame, of the happiness, and of the prosperity, which we of New England claim. We feel it further to be a privilege to be a citizen of Massachusetts, as we take in here

and elsewhere the inspiration which comes out of her developing history. Ever since the dawn of civil society here, her record has been a proud and honorable one, gratifying to her own people, the pride of the country, and, to a greater or less degree, the admiration of mankind. Why, what have we on our right hand and on our left hand, in these war-ploughed summits, but the memorials of the patriotism, the valor, and the heroism of the men who followed a few generations after the founders? And what are the gory plains and valleys that lie behind us but so many imperishable altars from which arise the inspiration of sacred memories, the incense of patriotism to the God of piety, of patriotism, and of justice? (Applause.) So too, fellow-citizens, not only in war but in peace, not only in martial but in social and in civil achievements, have we much in our history to be proud of. Those men who laid the foundations of society here began an imperishable structure. They appreciated fully the inestimable and the indispensable value of learning and of virtue as the foundation of any civil organization that they might erect upon them. And what have we in Massachusetts as the result?

THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

Let us see what sort of a Commonwealth this is that we live in. Do you not know that provision has been made here for the education of every child in the State, irrespective of rank, birth, or of condition, and that we have to-day, as the fruitage from the seeds that were early planted, more than three hundred thousand children in our 5,700 public schools? We have schools above those thus enumerated. All the towns, as you remember, of a large number of inhabitants, maintain high schools. Above them we have the normal schools, including the Normal Art School, which has especial reference to the industry of our people. We have our seven colleges and universities, with their schools of law, of medicine, of theology; our schools of science, our schools of technology. Then also we have throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth, wherever people are gathered, the churches, with their

spires pointing heavenward, signifying to all who are with us, and all who come to us, that ours is a Christian civilization; and that we thus still combine Christianity and learning together, and so maintain them as the only sure safeguards of the civil and social order which has been planted here, and which we are desirous and determined to maintain. Then also we have in this Massachusetts, institutions great in variety, for the destitute and afflicted, not only in the towns, but we have also institutions supported at the public expense on the part of the State, representing every sort of need that humanity in its varied forms requires. We have hospitals for the sick and the insane, we have almshouses for the poor, we have prisons for the criminals, and then we have beneficent institutions of every sort, kind, and variety; so that there shall be no fraction of humanity, however forlorn or desperate, that is incapable of taking care of itself, that shall not be suitably provided for at the public cost. Then we have, over and above all these eleemosynary and reformatory institutions, more than 450 public libraries, 127 of which alone have nearly a million volumes. 150 of these libraries are free, and are so many peoples' universities for adult and juvenile self-educators; notable among them is the magnificent free library of this city, with its attractive reading-rooms, 350,000 volumes, and annual circulation of 1,400,000 among our resident population.

Then also we have 22,000 manufacturing establishments in Massachusetts, employing more than $280,000,000 capital; and the value of our productive industry, independent of our farms, is more than $525,000,000 annually; and including the products of our farms, the combined labor of our people, the sum value of the productive industry of this Commonwealth of 1,600,000 people, amounts to nearly the round sum of $600,000,000 per annum, or equal nearly to $2,000,000 for each working-day in the year. More than this, who does not know that Massachusetts has been made illustrious also by the splendid examples of genius and attainment in other and the higher pursuits of life; in the early and daring and successful commerce which carried the flag, extended the enterprise, and spread the fame of her "merchant-

princes" to the utmost seas? What skill have her people shown in invention, and in the amplification of facilities for multiplying the forms of employment! How long and brilliant the catalogue of statesmen and philanthropists; of divines eminent in originality, piety, and learning; of scholars profound in all branches of human knowledge; of poets, philosophers, physicians, advocates, jurists, novelists, historians, and ornaments of every department of classical and polite literature!

THE PROSPERITY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

My fellow-citizens, I say that you cannot find an area of 7,800 square miles on the face of the earth, that is peopled by a population that enjoys larger civil, social, and domestic comfort and happiness, and, on the whole, prosperity, than is enjoyed by the people of this ancient and well-endowed Commonwealth. (Applause.) No matter who it is that carps at Massachusetts, no matter who it is that talks about her industry declining, about her honors waning, or about her prosperity failing, about her manhood degenerating, or her standard of progress lowering in the sky one foot: it is a falsehood. (Applause.) The State never had more solid prosperity than it has to-day; it was never more inspired by lofty and reputable ambitions and aspirations than it is to-day. It never had a keener sense of public honor than it has to-day; and it never had a bolder, braver, more virtuous, more industrious, more prosperous population, a population equal to any emergency and prepared on every occasion, public or private, to maintain the honor of the Commonwealth and the safety and welfare of its people. (Applause.) But, fellow-citizens, there are those who challenge Massachusetts on these points, — who would have us believe that she is a misgoverned State, that she has been running to waste, that she has been fading out, and who tell us that her prosperity is gone. I think any man who assails the people of Massachusetts, any man who impugns the government of Massachusetts, any man who would stain in the estimation of the country the fair fame and renown of the State of Massachusetts, ought to be one, to say the least,

who is endowed with more than common intellectual gifts, and more than common moral virtues. (Applause.) Least of all should it be any man, whoever he is or whatever his vocation or his name may be, who seeks to defame his State, who seeks to belittle its people, who seeks to slander its government, who, in one word, seeks to pull down the character and fame of Massachusetts, to a lower level, in order to make himself of passing respectability. (Great applause and cheers.) I think I know the character of Massachusetts men and women better than to suppose for a moment that they propose to surrender the honor of their State, the custody of its institutions, or the conducting of its government, at the command of any such individual or class of individuals, be they many or be they few.

This is the kind of Commonwealth that we inhabit, if I understand it aright; and its preservation is what we are contending for in this campaign.

THE STATE DEBT.

Now, then, fellow-citizens, I want you to bear with me while I say a little about State matters. Very likely you expect me to occupy a portion of this evening in talking about them.

I shall try to avoid egotism as far as I can. I shall try to avoid dealing with any man or any body of men unjustly; but I am going, if it be possible for me to do it, to vindicate the administration of the government of this State during the last three years, and for the last twenty years. (Great applause.) There never was a baser slander, there never was a blacker falsehood told, than that the government of this Commonwealth, in the last three years, or in the last twenty-five years, has not been honorable and honest and humane. (Applause.) It is said that the debt of the State has been increased. Well, so it has. I desire to cover up nothing, and I shall shield nobody if I know it; but I want the truth, and the whole truth, to be known. (Applause.)

So far as I am concerned, and those associated with me, I am prepared here and now and everywhere to stand by your verdict,

and that of the people of Massachusetts, upon the government of the Commonwealth. (Applause.) In 1861, in the beginning of that year, the debt of the State was a little less than $7,000,000, — $6,700,000. And it grew through subsequent years, so that on the first day of January, 1876, it amounted to $33,866,000. Well, that is a very large increase. It covers a period of fifteen years. Now, there are some things in this world that are of more value than money. Liberty is worth more than money, the maintenance of law is worth more than money, the public honor and the public faith are worth more than money. Fidelity to one's country in the hour of that country's danger is worth more than money. (Applause.) Massachusetts gave of her proudest and best, — the blood of her sons, and the labor of her daughters, took desolation into her families; and she gave $16,500,000, of this very increase of the public debt for these objects, and for the preservation of the Union. That was the testimony of her appreciation of the value of the liberty and safety of this country, and her interest in having them sustained. (Applause.) Is there a man, is there a woman, in this assembly, or in this Commonwealth, who would sell the golden history of Massachusetts for sixteen millions of dollars? her war history? Why, fellow-citizens, do you not know how soon her sons started when the call came for troops? Scarcely a day passed before there was a regiment in arms in front of the State House, equipped and ready for war. They went instantly, and thus excited the admiration of every State through which they passed; they shed their blood on the way for the defence of the capital of the nation; and they were followed by thousands and tens of thousands of their comrades. On every battle-field, wherever the conflict was fiercest, there were the sons of Massachusetts, vindicating the principles of their fathers; there they were offering their lives in devotion to the liberties of their country. So they went, so they fought, and so they perished by tens of thousands; but they left a line of historic glory, which all the carpers, all the cowards, all the rebels, and all the falsifiers on earth, can never obliterate to the end of time. (Great applause.) While the brothers, the sons, and the fathers were in

the field, bearing arms and putting their bodies between their country and the guns of the enemy, the people of Massachusetts at home were pouring out their money liberally and freely in all work for the army. They were willing to be taxed to maintain the honor of the State, and the support of the sons who were on the battle-fields fighting for the honor and the institutions of the land.

In this war sixteen millions of your public debt was made, now reduced to eleven millions of dollars. (Applause.) If anybody wants to take that back, I will be ashamed of him forever as a Massachusetts man. (Applause.)

THE HOOSAC TUNNEL.

Well, we are not in perpetual war, thank Heaven, in this country. We live in a most remarkable age. It is an age of development; it is an age of progress, the world over; it is an age which puts the fire of life into American enterprise, a determination not to be outdone, either in the field or in peaceable pursuits of commercial times. There was a great work commenced a quarter of a century ago in this State of Massachusetts, — a work which has become widely known. To some it has an unsavory mention; but, after all, it is one of the grandest and one of the noblest achievements that was ever accomplished by the engineering skill of this or of any other country. I mean the Hoosac Tunnel. The Hoosac Tunnel has cost $17,000,000. There it stands. Nobody has ever brought any charge against the constructors or managers of that work, that it was not properly and faithfully done, or that money which has been year after year appropriated for carrying on that work has been diverted to private advantage or improper purposes. It is a magnificent monument, costly though it be, of the enterprise and audacious daring of this people. There was the great and growing West, with its teeming acres, raising grain and food enough to feed almost the whole civilized world. Every thing indicated that there would be greater and greater pressure to the Atlantic seaboard, of the products of these States rushing to the markets of New England and Europe. Competition was strong between

all the Atlantic cities for the business of these great Western States. The genius of Massachusetts, and the enterprise of the business men of Massachusetts and of this city of Boston, conceived the idea of making a parallel railroad to the Hudson River, expecting thereby that a larger amount of this export business might be brought to the city of Boston, and that we might have an additional line of communication with the great grain States of the West. The tunnel, as I said, cost $17,000,000. Well, they built a bridge over the Mississippi River at St. Louis, which cost $13,000,000. On the other continent they ran a tunnel through Mont Cenis, which cost $12,500,000 in gold; and there is another tunnel in progress, if it is not completed, at St. Gothard, which has cost a like sum in gold to build, at the lower price of European labor: so you see, fellow-citizens, that, great as this undertaking was, it has had its following among other enterprising people in our own and in foreign lands. What is the result? We have the tunnel built. I am not prepared to say that I would undertake it, if it had not been undertaken at all, even in the light of to-day; but I will say this: that, if we sink the money that has been invested in it as an investment, we ought, instead of crying over and lamenting what has been done, to set ourselves vigorously at work to get out of the tunnel in commercial value what we have sunk as an investment.

So it is, the tunnel is accomplished; and there it stands, in its magnificent grandeur, an eternal monument of the courage, the skill, and the commercial enterprise of our people. It is a perfect piece of work. It will not need reconstruction. It is built for all time. Like all other works of human hands, it will undoubtedly need repairs; but the investment is substantially ended. Trains of cars are to-day, and every day and every night, running back and forth in increasing numbers, bearing increasing volumes of trade to this State, thereby giving value to the harbor improvements upon which the State and the city have expended so large a sum of money, and inviting to this port, as possessing attractive and perhaps superior advantages to the steamship lines of Europe which are seeking for American business. The volume of busi-

ness over the tunnel is increasing forty or fifty per cent per annum. I expect the tunnel will in time develop a line of cities and towns along the borders of its connections from Boston to the Hudson line, in number, size, and thriftiness commensurate with those along the line of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and that without injury to the latter's business. At the time the tunnel was undertaken, if I remember rightly, we had but one steamship in a fortnight, or ten days, between Boston and Liverpool. Now, if I mistake not, Mr. Collector, we have six or seven steamers per week, — one a day, — and the number increasing, for which thanks are largely due to that liberal and well-managed road, the Boston and Albany. There is every indication, fellow-citizens, that this is to become one of the largest exporting places on the Atlantic seaboard; and one of the contributors to this now increasing prosperity is to be the much-maligned Hoosac Tunnel.

Let me say that this is the one unimproved trunk line that is open to new connection between the Atlantic States and the great West. There is every indication, at this moment while I am talking, that this line will be extended into the valley of the Mohawk River, and bring us into direct communication with the Erie Canal and its vast business, until in course of time other communications will very likely be built across the State of New York, giving Boston a new line, a direct and special communication between our own harbor and the great grain-growing States of the West. So much for the Hoosac Tunnel.

The entire railroad debt to-day is represented by the round sum of $17,000,000, a portion of the cost of the tunnel having been paid.

OTHER LARGE EXPENDITURES.

And let me say, that, besides the war and the railroad debts, there are but $4,700,000 of the State debt to be accounted for. That money, like the rest, has been expended in the years past; and I speak with entire freedom, because none of these works have been undertaken since I held any office whatever under the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It has been my duty and my

privilege to carry out to the best of my ability, with the best regard to the public treasury, with the best regard to honest administration, with the best regard to every man's doing his duty in his place, — it has been my duty to see that this money, appropriated for works undertaken, has been properly expended and honestly disbursed, and that the work has been fairly and faithfully done. Now, then, the balance of this money has been expended partly in building a new asylum for the insane, at Danvers. That, also, is under criticism. The Danvers Lunatic Hospital has cost in round numbers about $1,500,000. That is a very large sum of money. I am not prepared to say that I think it expedient to spend that large sum of money in the erection of a hospital to accommodate the number of patients which that institution will accommodate; but let me remind you of this one thing, that, after you have expended all the criticism that can be made upon that building, it still stands here on the soil of Massachusetts, one of its representative institutions, the grandest structure of its kind in the world provided for any such purpose. There has not been a dollar of money that has been misappropriated, or that has gone into the pockets of any individual, or into the hands of any clique or ring of speculators or fraudulent association. The money has been appropriated by the Legislatures in consecutive years, understanding what they were doing. The money thus appropriated has been honestly and legitimately expended. The plans of this building took the first prize at the Philadelphia World's Exposition, leading all other competition throughout the world, as being the best for a lunatic-hospital in any country whatsoever. And so it stands to-day. Great as it is, costly as it is, still it is a monument of the munificence of the people of Massachusetts, an evidence of the outpouring of their generosity and of their humanity toward the most forlorn, the most desolate, and the most pitiable of any class of human beings. In the reclassification of inmates in our hospitals, the highest class and wealthy lunatics, now in private hospitals, will no doubt seek Danvers, and relieve the State of much of the cost of its administration. What has been said of that may be said in a like degree of the new lunatic-hospital at Worces-

ter. A million of dollars has been expended at Concord for the new State Prison. Well, we have had a fire and an escape from the State Prison since it was built. I do not know that I should advocate the location of a State Prison at Concord; I do not know that I would adopt the plan of the State Prison that was built in Concord: but understand this, fellow-citizens, that all these public works were authorized and ordered by successive Legislatures of Massachusetts, — by Legislatures chosen out of the people of Massachusetts, and representing the average intelligence of the population of Massachusetts, and what, in their estimation, they can afford to do, and representing also what they desire to do; and I am not here to call in question the wisdom of the Legislature, much less the wishes of the people of this grand old Commonwealth. (Applause.) Now, then, so far as the State Prison is concerned, I have visited the institution, within the past ten days, in company with a distinguished foreign ambassador who is spending a few weeks in Boston, representing one of the most intelligent and numerous of the nations of the earth, and one which, during the last quarter of a century, has made as much progress in civilization and humanity as any nation whatsoever. He expressed his wonder and surprise at the building and the methods of administration. He said to me, "Where are the garrison? where are the soldiers that keep this place and prison in order?" I said to him, "Even our prisoners do not want to be subject to a garrison in time of peace: they are well-behaved prisoners." — "Well," he said, "in all my travel over the world, and in my observation of public institutions in any country, this is the finest prison and the best-administered that my eyes have ever rested upon." Fellow-citizens, that is the testimony of a distinguished foreigner in regard to that new and costly State Prison. Then the same distinguished gentleman went to the Woman's Prison at Sherborn, in the immediate vicinity of South Framingham, which has cost about $300,000; and I wish every man and every woman in this assembly might go to the Woman's Prison, and see for themselves what this last step forward in the civilization of Massachusetts is. That institution was the outcome of an advance in humane thought. It

was believed that the time had come when women might be separated from men in penal institutions, when we might lay by the rigors of chastisement and punishment, and when attention might be given more especially to the reformation of this class of women prisoners. And it was the thought of many, also, that the prison might be officered in part, possibly wholly, by persons of their own sex. So it devolved upon the present administration, to determine the question whether it ought to be officered by women entirely, or partly by men and partly by women. It devolved largely upon me, among other great and novel cares, to determine that question. After thinking the matter over, carefully considering the resources of this day in efficient women, — women who have the boldness and the courage to undertake, and have the piety and fidelity to achieve, — I believed the time had come when it was justifiable, nay, when it was demanded, that the experiment should be tried of appointing every officer of the prison, from high to low, from the ranks of women. And now we have the only State Prison in the world, so far as I know, that is officered entirely by women. There is not a man in the prison from one end of it to the other. (Applause.) And if you want to know how the experiment succeeds, go up there, and see nearly five hundred criminals, some of them the very worst characters that we have ever had in our houses of correction or in our prisons, and behold them in a state of perfect subordination, officered and controlled and directed entirely by three or four noble women and their assistants. The same distinguished gentleman said to me, as he was walking through the prison, "Where is the force, where is the power, that controls and orders and governs this great and novel institution? I see no force; I not only see no garrison, but I see no police. I see no men; and, suppose a difficulty arises, how is it to be overcome? What is the secret that has already overcome it, and that keeps this prison in a state of subordination?" I said to him, "Sir, not only is this prison new in its organization, not only is it substantially new in its ideal, but the controlling influence within it is new as a supreme power in a prison; and it is the potential quality of love which controls the prison as it does all human hearts;

it is the power of love exhibited on the part of the officers of the prison, that wins the admiration and affection and obedience even of the dull-minded and cold-hearted criminals that are within its walls." (Applause.) It is worth something, fellow-citizens, to have ascertained and demonstrated the fact that there is a susceptibility in human hearts, no matter how degraded they are, which cannot resist the perpetual outpouring of the law of love into them. It must respond, and we have shown in the Woman's Prison that it does respond. The prison cost $300,000 to erect it; and perhaps it may be of $3,000,000 value to the people of Massachusetts, and as an example of humanity to all mankind. (Applause.)

REDUCTION OF EXPENSES.

Now, then, fellow-citizens, I have accounted to you for the increase of the funded debt of the State. We have no debt unfunded; *and all this debt is provided for by sinking-funds sufficient to pay it at maturity.* Now let me say one word more. I began at the first day of January, 1861. I gave you the public debt on that day as $6,700,000 in round numbers. And I ended on the first day of January, 1876, when I went to the State House, and it became my business, more especially, to know what the amount of the public debt was; and I found it to be, as I said, $33,886,000. You sent me up there, as you told me in the platform of the convention that nominated me, and in the outspoken voice of the people during the campaign, to make a vigorous and fearless and honest administration; and when I was inaugurated I held up my hand, and took an oath in the presence of the Legislature of Massachusetts and of the people, so many of them as were there assembled, and in the presence of Almighty God, that with his help I would carry out the obligation which I then assumed, and which corresponded with the charge and with the expectation of the people. Now, fellow-citizens, from that day to this there has not been a year in which the public debt of this State has not been reduced: it has been so reduced every year. (Applause.) It

will be reduced in the sum of $150,000 this year from the cost of the ordinary expenses of last year; and the total reduction in the ordinary expenses, that is, our housekeeping expense as we may term it, at the State House, during three years to the end of this year, will be nearly $400,000, saved in the three years. And in what are termed the exceptional expenses there has been a reduction of about $950,000 more, making a total reduction of $1,334,000 in the expenses of this Commonwealth during the last three years. No new enterprise involving the expenditure of money or the erection of new and costly buildings, no great railroad appropriation or other outlays, have been authorized; but there has been a constant and a large reduction in the public expenses, which, so far as I can see, may be maintained indefinitely in the future.

JACK-KNIVES AND COMBS.

So much for the extravagance of the Administration. Fellow-citizens, I cannot descend here to discuss and answer some small and flimsy charges that have been made upon the Administration of the State elsewhere. (Applause.) If, when we are looking at the Administration of a great and grand Commonwealth, which is the pride of our own people, and deservedly to a greater or less extent the admiration of the sister States of this Union and of the people on the other side of the water, — if we are obliged to stop and discuss questions about combs and hair-brushes and jack-knives, why, it seems to me that I ought to have an audience of much less intelligence than the one before me. (Applause.) I will not even venture upon the caustic and witty suggestion that has been made, that in order to save the combs and the hair-brushes you had better send all bald-headed men up to the State House. (Laughter.) Now let me dispose of all that class of expenses in a few words. It is customary in all States and in all countries, so far as I know, when any administration comes in, that its members shall be furnished with those proper and necessary things for the good ordering of the premises which they occupy. I was furnished with a carpeted room, I was furnished with a chair, I was furnished

with a desk, I was furnished with paper, and I was furnished with pens. I believe I was furnished with a jack-knife; but I don't know, for the one which I carry in my pocket I bought and paid for many years ago. I do not know whether I was furnished with a comb and brush, or not. Perhaps I am sometimes too careless in the use of those instrumentalities for the decoration and beautifying of one's person; but still I think it is a very proper thing that the State House, as well as the Capitol at Washington, should follow the common example, and furnish whatever is proper and necessary.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

Now, then, the only other thing that I need to touch upon in this connection, I believe, is the statement that the President of the United States came here, and was respectably and honorably entertained. Well, I want to know if Massachusetts has sunk down to that low level where she would desire to have the President of the United States, of any party, I don't care what party it is, received and entertained in a manner unbecoming his position? whether you would like to have him received in a horse-car, and taken by the lightest and cheapest conveyance to his hotel, and there entertained in the most economical and stinted manner possible? (A voice, "Never!") No, sir, you are right. (Applause.) The people of Massachusetts want to receive the chief magistrate of this great nation in a manner commensurate with the dignity of the highest officer of this government. (Applause.) Massachusetts always has received the President of the United States in that manner whenever he has come here, whatever his party, or of whatever name, or from whatever State he may have come; and I believe she always will continue to do so. I am quite sure she will while the spirit pervades the minds of her people, that glows in the hearts and brains of the present generation.

THE HOOSAC TUNNEL EXCURSION.

But then it was stated that the governor and staff made an expensive journey to the Hoosac Tunnel, and that cost money. Well, that is a most beautiful and shining bubble. I hate to prick it, and have it vanish into thin air; but, fellow-citizens, the governor and staff never went to the Hoosac Tunnel. (Applause and laughter.) I will tell you what did take place. You know that the Hoosac Tunnel and Troy and Greenfield Railroad are the property of the Commonwealth, and it is the duty of the governor and council to take charge of that great work. They have had the duty of supervising its construction; and they have now the duty of supervising its condition, and doing for it every thing that a board of directors does for any other railroad corporation. In the discharge of their public duty they did make an excursion to the Hoosac Tunnel, extending through several days, to see that it was in good and proper condition, — safe for preservation, safe for travel, — and they took some of their associates and friends with them. I believe that a distinguished gentleman of this Commonwealth says it cost some $1,400 to do it. Well, fellow-citizens, if our duty had required that we should have gone once a week, it might have cost $14,000, or $140,000; but it did not require it, and therefore we spent only the money necessary for the inspection and supervision of that work and its connections.

TAXATION.

A single word more, and I am done. There is a good deal said about taxation; and I am not going to discuss theories of taxation, for they would take a whole evening, and I see by the clock that I have already talked too long. The amount of property of this State that is taxable amounts to $1,668,000,000. The amount of the State tax in 1875 was $2,000,000, and the rate of the State tax was $1.10 on a thousand dollars. Your State tax has been reduced in the last three years to $1,000,000, instead of $2,000,000;

and the rate of taxation for State purposes to-day is 60 cents on the thousand, instead of $1.10 three years ago. Now, fellow-citizens, that is the whole sum and substance of your State taxation. Now, do not be mistaken, and do not let me deceive you. I do not mean to say that that is the whole amount of taxation to which the people are subjected. Taking the whole valuation of the State, the average of all the rates of taxation in the different towns is $12.50 on a thousand. Therefore, if you take out State tax, you take out 60 cents from that $12.50, and leave $11.90 on a thousand, which is entirely independent of the State expenses, and belongs to the expenses of the towns. Now, our taxes in Massachusetts are large, but the civilization which we maintain in Massachusetts is very high; and if our people demand a certain amount of domestic comfort, if they demand a certain type of civil and social privileges, if they want such and such a kind of institutions, and they want to sustain such and such a measure of respectability and advancement, of course it must follow the same rule that obtains in families, that, the higher the grade of living, the higher the cost, and the greater the burden.

But, if you want to lessen your taxes, you are not going to do it by assailing or by changing the policy of your State; for, I repeat, the amount of your State tax is but 60 cents a thousand, while the remainder, $11.90 on the thousand, belongs to your town. We know how the towns and cities of the Commonwealth have been led into extravagant expenditures for town-halls and parks and a thousand other things. You know whether you can afford them or not. We all thought we could; because we supposed we were in the midst of a prosperous journey, and that the flush times were going to continue indefinitely, and thus we could afford what in these stringent times we find we could not do.

Let us look a little closer to this matter of State taxes. I have already said the total valuation of taxable property in the State is about $1,668,000,000; that the amount of the annual State tax is only $1,000,000, and the rate 60 cents on a thousand dollars. The Tax Commissioner estimates that the number of tax-payers does not exceed 300,000 persons out of our 1,600,000 population; and

of these 300,000 persons, 125,000 pay a poll-tax only; thus leaving 175,000 persons who pay the entire property-tax of the Commonwealth. If a young man beginning life, or a laboring man or a widow, owns a homestead valued at $5,000, the State tax upon it is three dollars a year; less than one cent a day for all the rights and privileges which the State bestows upon us! Does not this fact put a new light upon the subject? and ought it not to silence the senseless tirades about the extravagance of the State government, the burdens which it imposes by taxes upon the people, and the necessity of a change and overthrow?

I have endeavored, and those associated with me in the government have endeavored, to pursue an enlightened and economical policy; to maintain and encourage a respectable and progressive spirit and condition worthy of the character of the State, and suited to the intelligence and competence of its people, and consistent with their wishes; and, at the same time, to cut off superfluous expenses and sinecures. I speak from observation when I say of the legislatures, that I believe they have been as pure, as free from rings, as free from jobs, as possible; and that they have represented the honest wishes of the people of Massachusetts, and have carried out those wishes with as great fidelity as the legislature of this or any other State ever did. I can say of the judiciary of this Commonwealth, that it is learned, it is able, it is pure, it is incorruptible; and the laws of the Commonwealth, in all grades of our courts, are administered with absolute justice and with absolute impartiality. I can say, — speaking not of myself, but of the other members of the executive department of this government, — that they are all able, honest, and faithful men. I speak of my own personal knowledge. They are able and well fitted for their respective duties; and they discharge those duties with a strict regard to honesty, economy, and the welfare and wishes of the people of the Commonwealth. (Applause.) I do not know how you are to change materially the government of your Commonwealth; how you are going to answer the cry that we want a change, and get any substantial benefit; certainly any substantial improvement over the government that you have had in the

last twenty years, in the last ten years, yes, and — if you will excuse me for saying it — in the last three years. If you have a watch in your pocket that is running well, and keeping good time, that gets you to your railroad train at the right moment in the morning, and gets you to the bank and to your business at the right moment, so that you can save interest, and yet pay your note in time, — if you have such a watch, and it does what ought to be expected of a watch, how silly it would be to say that you want to throw it away, and get something else, just simply for the love of change! No, fellow-citizens, such is not the policy of the people of Massachusetts. Our civil society dates back two hundred and fifty years, in round numbers; and it has been the policy of this people to profit by the experience of every year and every generation; and, casting away what has been found useless and bad, to treasure up all that is good; and thus annually to add to the strength of our Commonwealth, to the happiness of its people.

THE CANDIDATES.

Now, I believe that a list of men have been nominated by the Republican party for the administration of this Government during the next year, who are unsurpassed in honesty, in ability, and in the confidence of the people. (Applause.) There is not a more conscientious, a more hard-working, upright, faithful man, that walks the soil of Massachusetts, than is Thomas Talbot, who was nominated for Governor. (Applause.) And I say to you here, fellow-citizens, and risk the prophecy, that the people of Massachusetts will not be cajoled, seduced, nor frightened into casting their votes for any other man for Governor of this Commonwealth in the year 1879 but Thomas Talbot. (Applause.) If elected, he will add to the prosperity, to the vigor, and to the honor of this Commonwealth, all that any man can contribute to those ends from the executive chair. I may speak in terms of corresponding eulogy of that talented young Republican, John D. Long (applause), who was nominated for the second position; and who, by his own ability, learning, eloquence, good sense, and industry,

at an earlier period of life than is common to men, has made a reputation for himself throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth of which any citizen may be justly proud. So of the gentlemen who are nominated for the other offices in the Executive Department of the Commonwealth. They have been tried, with a single exception, and have not been found wanting; and the gentleman whom you have nominated for Attorney-General of the Commonwealth is worthy of your hearty support and utmost confidence as a lawyer of distinguished ability, and as a man of the highest and noblest type of character, — George Marston of New Bedford.

CONCLUSION.

Now, then, see to it, fellow-citizens, that the work of the campaign is carried forward vigorously, unfalteringly, honestly. Let it be seen by the people of Massachusetts, of all ranks, conditions, and parties, that you believe in the principles that you profess; that you are bound to the policy that you advocate; that you stand by the past, that you defend the State in the present, and that your hope and your aspiration is unfaltering for the honor and the prosperity of Massachusetts in the future. Don't let down the standard, not an inch. Keep it where it has been. Let it be seen throughout the length and breadth of the land, and let whoever looks upon it take notice, that the current of civilization, the current of learning, the current of honesty, of lofty principle and of vigorous manhood, the current of bright and glorious example, is going out still from this State, and infusing itself into American civilization.

Let it be seen that Massachusetts now, as in the past, is worthy of the admiration of her sister States, and their inspiration to follow us as we seek to follow them in every thing in which they are worthy of imitation. Fellow-citizens, I thank you from my heart for the kindly and respectful manner in which you have listened to me. I thank you for all the favors and great courtesies which I have received from you in public and in private life; and

in surrendering, as I shall at the close of this year, the high and responsible trusts which you have committed to me, it will be my life-long satisfaction if I feel that I can return the State to you untarnished in its reputation, unhindered in its prosperity, undiminished in its hopes of the future. (Applause and cheers.)

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